

PROBLEMS OF THE STUDY OF PILGRIMAGE IN INDIA¹

The interest in the study of pilgrimage in India obviously is on the increase. In recent years editions, translations, analyses of the legends of several holy sites have been published, such as Gayā², Kanchipuram³, Cidambaram⁴ and those of Nepal⁵. Scholars from different fields have written on subjects connected with pilgrimage. Pillay (1953) has given an allround description of the Sucindram temple. Stein⁶ on the basis of rich epigraphical evidence drew an interesting picture of the economy of the Tirupati temple from the ninth till the sixteenth century and its consequences for large groups of the rural population in the Vijayanagar empire. Deleury (1960) gave an account of the cult of Viṭhobā in Pandharpur and Mrs. Karve (1962) wrote down her experiences as one of the pilgrims that followed the image of the feet of Jñāneśvar in a procession to the same city. Vidyarthi (1961) made a study of Gayā from the point of view of the cultural anthropologist, paying special attention to the Gayāvāl temple priests. Goswamy (1966) in his investigations on Indian painting hit upon the pilgrims registers kept by temple priests and realized their great value for many kinds of research. Stoddard⁷ tested some hypotheses on the geographical location of holy sites, in the main with a negative result. Bhardwaj (1973) wrote a thesis which falls apart in two halves, the first discussing the distribution of places of pilgrimage espe-

1. This paper was read in the Institute of Indology of the University of Turin on March 27th 1974. In preparing it I have used the documentation on pilgrimage and fairs in South Asia of the University of Groningen.

2. JACQUES 1962.

3. DESSIGANE-PATTABIRAMIN-FILLIOZAT 1964.

4. KULKE 1970.

5. UEBACH 1970.

6. 1960. So far I have not been able to lay hands on the same author's Chicago thesis (Stein 1958).

7. 1966; criticized by BHARDWAJ 1973. 94f.

cially on the basis of the *Tīrthayātrāparvan* of the *Mahābhārata*, the second being a report on field work done in Hardwar and Ujjain and a group of sacred places in Himachal Pradesh and Haryana with the object of formulating « certain levels of sacred places ». At present a team of scholars from the universities of Heidelberg and Freiburg together with Indian scholars is engaged in « an attempt to analyse the Jagannātha cult, i.e. the temple city of Puri, as an example of the formation and the present role of Hindu tradition in contemporary India »⁸.

Among the more comprehensive works on the subject none so far has replaced von Glasenapp's (1928) book as a survey of a great number of holy sites. In 1953 the section on *tīrthayātrā* in Kane's (1930-1962. 4. section IV) monumental *History of Dharmasāstra* came out. This work contains a wealth of material from Sanskrit literature and it is a matter of regret that it is as good as unknown outside the circle of Indologists. Jacques (1960) in his discussion of pilgrimage in India devoted much attention to the historical development. At present Agehananda Bharati's (1963) article is one of the most important publications on our subject, which its chapters handle from rather different angles: « Pilgrimage in action », « Pilgrimage as precept », « Pilgrimage in Hindu tradition », « Pilgrimage topography », and « The Tantric element ».

Roussel's (1954) book on pilgrimage in general also contains a section on India (263-278). Baljon in his Leiden inaugural address on the motivation of the Muslim pilgrim (1972) took many examples from India and Pakistan. And Turner (1973) in his article on « The center out there: pilgrim's goal », devoted much attention to Indian pilgrimages.

Considering the importance of pilgrimage in many religions all over the globe, it is remarkable that such handbooks on the history of religion as those by van der Leeuw (1956), Heiler (1961) and Widengren (1969) only make passing mention of the phenomenon and on the whole only discuss it in the context of the holy site.

The importance of pilgrimage in Hinduism is obvious: it is founded in texts of Hindu tradition and these have no difficulty in formulating its meaning.

In the *Mahābhārata* (3. 80. 34-40) the seer Pulastya says:

« In this world the seers in the *Vedas* have taught the sacrifices in due order and what exactly will be the result of each of them, here as well as hereafter. But those sacrifices are out of the reach of the poor man, O king; sacrifices require many utensils and a large variety of materials. Kings or wealthy men may sometimes perform them, but not people without means, who have no company, are isolated and do not operate

8. ESCHMANN 1972.

jointly⁹. Hear, O king, what rite is within the reach even of the poor and in merit equals the result of sacrifices, O champion of the warriors. This is a most secret teaching of the seers, O excellent Bharata: the meritorious visit of holy places even surpasses sacrifices. He who has never kept a fast for three days and nights, has not visited holy sites and has not given gold nor cows is indeed reborn a poor man¹⁰. He who has performed the *agnishōma* and similar sacrifices with liberal gifts does not reap such fruit as from the visit of holy places ».

This is indeed a simple and clear formula: pilgrimage is equivalent to the Vedic sacrifices, nay surpasses them in merit, and is much less costly. And the fact that Lakṣmīdhara (12th century; TVK 3.3 - 4.1), Vācaspati Miśra (15th century; TC 1.13 - 2.13) and Mitra Miśra (17th century; TP 12.7 - 20) each quote these verses in the opening of his treatise on the holy sites indicates that they are considered an essential teaching on the value of pilgrimage. It seems that in this context the comparison is with optional (*kāmya*) sacrifices. However highly pilgrimage is appreciated, only in special cases is it considered obligatory, as a rule it is a matter of option. The contrast to the obligatory *hajj* in Islam has conceivably struck a Moslim author like Al-Bīrūnī (2, 142), who in his matter-of-fact style characterizes the Hindu custom of pilgrimage thus:

« Pilgrimages are not obligatory to the Hindus, but facultative and meritorious. A man sets off to wander to some holy region, to some much venerated idol or to some of the holy rivers. He worships in them, worships the idol, makes presents to it, recites many hymns and prayers, fasts and gives alms to the Brahmans, the priests and others. He shaves the hair of his head and beard, and returns home ».

The *Mahābhārata* passage, though it may do as a general characteristic, will of course not help us to understand such a complicate phenomenon as pilgrimage in Hinduism in detail. It is also incomplete in an important respect. By sacrifices, as is well known, one may obtain great merit and even rebirth in heaven, but not release from rebirth. Now it is generally admitted in the Hindu tradition that a number of holy places grant release to the pilgrim. There is a verse, recurring — with some variations to be sure — in many *purāṇas*, which enumerates « seven cities that grant release »:

9. MBH. Crit. Ed. (uncertainly) *nārthanyūnopakaraṇair ekātmabhir asaṃhataiḥ* / LAKṢMĪDHARA TVK 3.8 and VĀCASPATI MIŚRA TC 1.18 *nārthanyūnair avagaṇair ekā*. Lakṣmīdhara ad loc. 'avagaṇaiḥ' *ukṣādisahāyarahitaiḥ* (v.l. *takṣāḍi*) / 'ekātmabhiḥ' *patnīrahitaiḥ* / 'asaṃhataiḥ' *rtvigādisahāyarahitaiḥ* / Vācaspati Miśra *avagaṇaiḥ sahāyarahitaiḥ* / for the rest like Lakṣmīdhara. MITRA MIŚRA TP 12.14-16 *avagaṇaiḥ, takṣādisahāyarahitaiḥ* / *yajñasya kuṇḍamaṇḍapādisādhyatvāt* / *ekātmabhiḥ, patnīrahitaiḥ* / *asaṃhataiḥ, rtvigādisaṅghātarahitaiḥ* /

10. According to Vācaspati Miśra each of these good works results in freedom from want in the next life: *trirātropoṣaṇa-tīrthābhigamana-kāñcanadāna-godānānāṃ pratyekaṇi dāridryābhavaḥ phalam*.

*Kāśi Kānti ca Māyākhyā tv Ayodhyā Dvāravatya api /
Mathurāvantikā caitāḥ saptapurya 'tra mokṣadāḥ* / ¹¹.

« Benares, Kānti, Hardwar, Ayodhya, Dwarka, Mathura and Ujjain, these are on earth the seven cities that grant release ».

Many scholars have wondered at not finding the famous holy sites of Prayāga and Gayā in this verse. According to Jacques (1960. 180; 1962. p. LXII) these have to be subsumed under Kāśi; together with that city they form the Tristhālī, the three holy places par excellence.

But it is not only the cities included in this verse that are supposed to grant *mukṭi* (release) a well as *bhukṭi* (enjoyment of the fruits of karmān).

To Anantabhaṭṭa, who in the second half of the seventeenth century wrote what is perhaps the largest Sanskrit text on pilgrimage, the holy site (*tīrtha*) is essentially a means to cross (*tr-*) the ocean of rebirth. He carefully formulates this releasing function in a variation on the theme of the *Mahābhārata* passage just quoted; in the introduction to his « Mine of the Jewels that are the Holy Places (*Tīrtharatnākara*) » ¹² he writes:

« In this world among the four objects of men: merit, utility, pleasure and release, the first three are impermanent, as they result from action. Therefore everyone strives for the permanent object of men: release. Now this cannot be obtained but for knowledge of the true nature of the self. This is to be realized by study, reflection and meditation. These require purification of the inner organ. And this is brought about by the avoiding of optional and forbidden acts and the performance of such acts as are obligatory or prescribed on special occasions. Now it is impossible to perform these acts, as they require wealth, knowledge and power. And therefore, as in this Kali age people have a short span of life, and little intelligence, are attached to body, wife and sons, poor and visited by calamities, release will be hard to obtain for them in every respect. So, considering that for all people the visiting of holy places is a way to obtain the fruit that is called release, we have undertaken to write the book entitled *Tīrtharatnākara*, that is « Mine of the Jewels that are the Holy Places ».

It will become clear from the examination of the eulogies of the several holy places that the visiting and other forms of cult of the holy places grant release through knowledge.

11. *SkandaPur.* 4 (*Kāśi Khaṇḍa*) *Pūrvārdha* 6 (*Tīrthādhyāya*) 68; vol. 3, fol. 33 recto. Parallels in Kane 1930-1962. 4. 678, note 1535. The identification of Kānti is dubious. Probably it is not Kanchipuram and so the verse would not mention a single place in South India. Most other variants however have Kāñci.

12. Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner, MSS 1790-1822; the introduction is found in MS 1822. I am much obliged to the Indian Council for Cultural Relations for enabling me to visit Bikaner in April 1972 and to H.H. the Maharaja of Bikaner for permission granted to consult the MSS.

In this context a holy place is that by which rebirth is overcome (*tīryate saṃsāro yena tat tīrtham*) ».

On the analogy of the *Mahābhārata* passage we obviously have to understand Anantabhaṭṭa thus: The man who wants to attain release first has to perform rites to purify his mind. These rites are too costly and difficult for man in the Kali age. So he should make pilgrimages instead. In this way Anantabhaṭṭa does full justice to the teachings about the way to release. Pilgrimage can be no more than a preliminary means inasmuch as it purifies the inner organ (*antaḥkaraṇa*), ultimately release is to be attained knowledge of the true nature of the self (*ātmatattvajñāna*) and this requires study, reflection and meditation. From this spiritual pilgrimage man is not exempted by the pilgrimage he has made on earth.

The legends (*māhātmya*) of the holy places however do not distinguish so nicely; they estimate the effect of pilgrimage much higher: provided the pilgrim maintains the required observances punctiliously, the visit to the holy site will be a means sufficient in itself for the attainment of release. Owing to such views pilgrimage is open to criticism from other currents in Hindu thought. But we shall not pursue this subject here.

There also are quite a few cases in which pilgrimage is not a less expensive alternative for an optional sacrifice, but on the contrary has the express object of carrying out a strict duty of the orthodox Hindu, a duty which he might carry out at home, only its discharge at the holy site is believed to be many times more effective, while on the other hand it also costs considerably more in money and effort.

The pilgrimage to Gayā affords a good example. This is undertaken because according to tradition Gayā is a very auspicious place for the performance of the ancestor rites, the offering of balls of rice (*pinḍa*) and the meal for the dead (*śrāddha*). These rituals ordinarily are addressed to the sacrificer's father, grandfather and great-grandfather and save them from hell, but if performed in Gayā they will save his ancestors even many generations back¹³ and may even bring about release for them¹⁴. Nasik is also considered a very favourable place to observe the rites for the deceased, and their performance is also recommended in less specialized holy cities.

The tonsure of young boys too is a ceremony which many Hindus preferably hold at a sacred place. Many families of the Khatri caste in the region of Haryana, Punjab and Himachal Pradesh are accustomed to have the heads of their boys shaved in the temple of Devī in Jawalamukhi¹⁵.

The Sanskrit texts tell us very little about the relations between caste and pilgrimage, but undoubtedly these were of old many and various.

13. *GayāM.* 1.10 and 24 and *passim*.

14. *GayāM.* 1.11sq. and 17.

15. BHARDWAJ 1973.179.

Works like those on « The Tribes and Castes » of different parts of India¹⁶ provide more material from recent times. These relations should be more closely investigated. It may prove that in many instances a special pilgrimage has a fixed place in the rules of a caste.

I now propose to deal with some questions connected with the provenance of pilgrimage in Hinduism, but, before we enter into these, it may be useful first to pass some important elements of Hindu pilgrimage in review.

In the first place it is evident that pilgrimage is dependent on the belief that some topographical objects have a special religious meaning, we may say that they are « holy » or « sacred ». To the Greek world a sacred place was primarily *ἄβατον*, inaccessible, and Kristensen (1960. 357) considers this its main characteristic. It is not wholly absent from Hindu sacred places: outcastes and barbarians as a rule are excluded from the temple. Yet another feature preponderates: it is thought meritorious and salutary to enter the sacred place and this is even the object of the pilgrim's journey.

It is well known that in Hinduism there is a large variety of holy places.

The waters in their different forms are often objects of worship, especially the flowing waters. The Ganges is the non-plus-ultra of purifying force, a renown not disparaged by legends of other holy waters telling us that the Ganges periodically comes to be purified there, as those of a bathing-place in the Sarasvatī¹⁷ and the source of the Cauvery¹⁸. On the other hand it will be hard to find a stream of any importance which is not sacred at all. Many tanks and wells too are considered holy and attract pilgrims either regularly or at certain times¹⁹. To bathe in the sea is considered especially salutary at certain places: at Rāmeśvaram married couples wishing for offspring take a bath in the sea with their garments knotted together²⁰; at Kanniyākumāri, India's southernmost point, a bathing festival is held in honour of Durgā²¹.

In every part of the subcontinent there are sacred mountains and hills. The ranges of the Himālaya and the Vindhya are an object of veneration. The famous mountain of Rajasthan, Mount Abu, is held sacred by Hindus as well as Jainas. In the neighbourhood of Mathura a

16. RISLEY 1896; IYER 1909-1912; RUSSELL-LAL 1916; NANJUNDAYYA-IYER 1928-1936; IYER 1937-1941.

17. CUNNINGHAM in: ASIR 2.217.

18. IGI 3.277 s.v. Cauvery.

19. MASANI 1931.

20. Communication of dr. Ranajit Sarkar, who recorded the rite on film.

21. IGI 4.25 s.v. Comorin.

low hill is worshipped as the mountain Govardhana, which Kṛṣṇa raised to shield the cowherds from a thunderstorm sent by Indra. A sacred hill near Dewas we know from Forster's book *The Hill of Devi* ²².

Among the trees the *Bodhi*-tree at Bodh Gayā has won special fame through the Buddha finding enlightenment at its foot. It is the *Ficus religiosa*, called *aśvattha* in Sanskrit, *pīpal* in Hindī. But the worship of the banyan tree (Sanskrit *vaṭa*; *Ficus indica*) is probably more widely spread: many places of pilgrimage have their « undying banyan tree (*akṣaya vaṭa*) ». In the Ekāmranātha temple of Kanchipuram a mango tree is worshipped.

Sometimes entire tracts of land are held sacred, such as the woods of the epics: Naimiṣa and Daṇḍaka; and Kurukṣetra is one of the most important holy places of India.

Holy cities are in fact complexes of many holy sites. Vidyarthi (1961. 5-7) applies the term « sacred complex » to the whole of the city and designates the smallest unit of worship as « sacred centre ». As a rule the most important object of veneration, an idol or a *liṅga*, is housed in a temple and sacred centres of every description are scattered all over the city. The territory of the holy city is called *kṣetra*. It need not coincide with the city in a civil sense, but is sharply delimited. In Benares the rivulet Asī and the rivers Ganges and Varuṇā form the greatest part of the boundary. Definite relations obtain between the sacred centres within one complex, e.g. the pilgrim should bathe in the river before visiting other sanctuaries, or worship in a certain shrine before going to the main temple, he should at least make the round of some special temples in a given order, the water for the rites in the main temple has to be taken from a special spring etc. etc. At some sacred places the custom of a clockwise circumambulation of the *kṣetra* exists. Thus Benares has the *pañcakrośīyātrā*. It takes six days; its route and the stations for the night are prescribed and the pilgrim should hold some strict observances ²³.

As for our subject the rivers will prove of special interest a few more details of their cult may be mentioned. It appears that the worship of rivers concentrates on certain points in their course: the source, the confluences (*saṁgama*) with other rivers, the bathing-places of the cities lying on the banks and, in given cases, its outfall into the sea, which in the texts is accounted a confluence. In the case of the Ganges the most important points are the source (Gangotri), the entering into the plain (Haridwar), the confluence with the Yamunā (Prayāga), Benares and the mouth at Sagar Island.

In general it may be said that bathing at the meeting-point of two rivers is believed to be much more meritorious than at just any point in the course of a river. The confluence seems more than to double the ef-

22. FORSTER 1953.19f and 51; cp. IGI 4.237 s.v. Dewās and SCHARPÉ 1966.257.

23. SHERRING 1868.174-181 and 226; HAVELL 1905, chapt. X.

fect of the bath. The confluence of Yamunā and Ganges at Prayāga is by far the most famous; it is called *Tīrtharāja*, « the King of Holy Sites », and it attracts pilgrims from every part of India, especially at Māgh Melā (a festival in January - February) and even more at Kumbh Melā (when Jupiter after 12 years enters the constellation Kumbha, i.e. Aquarius). Prayāga has lent its name to confluences higher up the Ganges: Karnaprayag (Alaknanda with Pindar), Rudraprayag (Alaknanda with Nandakini) and Deoprayag (Alaknanda with Bhagirathi). But many more confluences all over the subcontinent are held sacred; to mention only a few examples: Tribeni (in West Bengal at the confluence of the Hooghly, the Sarasvatī and the Yamunā)²⁴, Rajim (in Madhya Pradesh at the confluence of the Mahanadi and the Pairi)²⁵ and Bhagamandala (in Mysore at the confluence of the Cauvery and the Kanake)²⁶.

Apart from confluences there are many more places on the banks of a river where a bath is recommended. Any place where a holy river is easily reached may become a sacred bathing-place and in this way the Old-Indian word *tīrthā* may have come to be accepted for « sacred place ». Its etymological meaning being « ford », in the hymns of the *Rgveda* it also is used for « drinking-place » and may stand for any place where there is a way down to the level of the water. In religious terminology it has developed from « sacred bathing-place » to « holy place » in the widest sense; even an excellent man, who is a blessing for everyone who comes to see him, may be called a *tīrtha*. Anantabhaṭṭa's *tīryate saṃsāra yena tat tīrtham* is clearly a case of secondary etymology, a phenomenon which plays such a great part in religious terminology.

Most of the holy cities in India lie on the bank of a river and a bath is, if not prescribed, at least recommended to the pilgrim. As a rule flights of steps leading down to the water have been built. In later Sanskrit apparently these were designated as *ghaṭṭa*²⁷, a word better known in its Hindi form *ghaṭ*. It may have practically replaced *tīrtha* in its narrower meaning when this had become less clear owing to its new and wider acceptance.

Agehananda Bharati (1963. 137) points out « the highly diversified motives of the pilgrims ». He says: « One never just goes on a pilgrimage because it is a pleasant pastime or because one "wants to get away from it all" — I could not imagine any Hindu making a pronouncement to this effect. Every pilgrimage has a strictly defined purpose and scope ».

Though there may be borderland cases between pilgrimage and tourism²⁸, Agehananda Bharati essentially is right: pilgrimage should be

24. IGI 13.353 s.v. Tribeni.

25. IGI 11.388 s.v. Rajim.

26. IGI 3.277 s.v. Cauvery. SRINIVAS 1965, index s.v. Bhāgmaṇḍla.

27. PW 2.875 reports *ghaṭṭa* in this meaning only from *Amarakoṣa* and Hemacandra's *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*.

28. RAMDAS 1953.212-215.

undertaken with a well defined object²⁹ and the holy sites promise the realization of such objects. The result of a pilgrimage is called *tīrthaphala*. The *māhātmyas* are very explicit in stating the special *tīrthaphala* to be reaped at each sacred centre. We have seen that a number of holy cities are believed to give release to the pilgrim, while Gayā claims to multiply the effect of the ancestor rites. Several sanctuaries of Sūrya — as a rule with a tank annexed to them — are resorted to by people who want to be cured of leprosy (Von Stietenron - 1966 - has elucidated the history of this cult). An instance of a special *tīrthaphala* we find in Appikonda (Andhra Pradesh): dangers forecast in a person's horoscope may be warded off there³⁰. Very often a Hindu pilgrimizes in fulfilment of a vow made to the god of a holy site. These vows naturally may be as diversified as the desires in the hearts of men.

However, in the texts the *tīrthaphala* of most holy sites is stated to be merit, or, the same thing put negatively, purification from sin. Merit and sin are represented as quantifiable. The *Mahābhārata* preferably expresses *tīrthaphala* in terms of merit and the standard it uses as a rule is the merit accruing from different Vedic sacrifices:

« When one has reached the Narmadā, that river famous in the three worlds, and has refreshed the ancestors and the gods, one will reap the fruit of an *agniṣṭoma* » (3. 80. 71).

« When a man has taken a bath in that excellent holy place (Prabhāsa) and has become pure, of pure mind, he reaps the fruit of an *agniṣṭoma* and an *atirātra* » (3. 80. 77).

« When he has taken a bath in Kanakhala and fasted for three days and nights he acquires the merit of an *aśvamedha* and goes to heaven ». (3. 82. 26)

This reckoning remains current in later tradition, but then *tīrthaphala* may also be expressed in so many times the purification from the murder of a brahman: *Koṭī-tīrtha*, a name frequently given to tanks is sometimes explained as « the tank that purifies from the murder of ten millions of brahmans ».

The texts often make it seem that the visit to a holy place in itself yields the desired result. Sometimes this is said in so many words:

« By other bathing-places and lovely holy cities sin is not immediately purged, but it is by the visit to Gokarṇa, as darkness is fully overcome by the appearance of the sun. Though a man may have committed a hundred sins as the murder of a brahman and the like, as soon as he has entered Gokarṇa, he need not be afraid of any guilt »³¹.

29. BHARDWAJ 1973.148-153 has given an analysis of pilgrims' motives.

30. IGI 1.296 s.v. Appikonda.

31. *SkandaPur.* 3.3.2.85ff., cp. VALLAURI 1934.306.

Yet in most cases it should be understood that some ritual has to be performed. A pilgrimage to a river or a tank naturally is completed by a bath in its water and this no doubt is accompanied by some prayer, if not by more ritual. If the goal is a holy city, the essential thing often is a ritual in the main temple, but in many cases a round of several temples is required. Most *māhātmyas* prescribe the ritual to be performed in each sacred centre, very usual acts being the gift of gold, a cow or a garment to a brahman, or fasting for a certain time.

Tīrthaphala is however not only a matter of place, time is also highly important. The merit of a ritual may be increased many times if the most auspicious moment is chosen. We have mentioned the bathing-festivals of *Māgh-Melā* and *Kumbh-Melā* at Prayāga. Thus Ujjain has its *Simhastha* when Jupiter enters Leo. In *līnga*-sanctuaries worship is reckoned much more meritorious when performed during *Sivarātri*, the day and night preceding new moon in the month of either *Māgha* (January-February) or *Phālguna* (February-March). At full moon of *Kārttika* (October-November) many thousands of people take a bath in the Ganges or another river in places that are not accounted particularly holy otherwise.

In the Sanskrit religious treatises and in much of the secondary literature Hindu pilgrimage is mainly discussed under the aspect of the holy place and the pilgrim's journey receives comparatively little attention. But Turner (1973) has stressed the eminent importance of the travel aspect of pilgrimage in culture. Pilgrimage leads the devotee beyond the sphere where he lives and works, both in a social and a geographical sense. The practice of pilgrimage hardly ever tends to minimize the distance between the pilgrim's home and the place of pilgrimage. This was rightly pointed out by Bhardwaj (1973: 94) in criticizing Stoddard's first hypothesis. In every period there also has been a considerable number of pious people that visited many holy sites on one pilgrimage, some even made a tour of the whole of India in this way and among these were great philosophers like Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja.

Most modern scholars dealing with the subject have realized that pilgrimage is one of the main unifying forces in Hinduism. In a subcontinent which is neither linguistically nor racially a unity, seldom was so in a political sense and had no generally recognized hierarchy, the sense of unity must have been strongly supported by travels to distant sanctuaries, by joining people from different regions in reverence for the god of one and the same temple, by seeing devout people from far off places passing through to famous rivers and shrines, by hearing the praises of temples thousands of miles away, in the glory of which even those that stayed at home might feel entitled to a share as coreligionists. Turner sees a peculiar characteristic of pilgrimage in the social bond tying together all those that are on their way to the same goal; he calls this *communitas* and points out that for the duration of the pilgrimage it breaks through many relations, regulations and restrictions that obtain in life at home. For

India he finds a striking example in the pilgrimage to Pandharpur as described by Mrs. Karve (1962).

An older and harsher picture of groups of pilgrims on their way to a venerated shrine — Jagannāth of Puri — we find in Hunter's³² work. He also showed how in his time the danger of epidemics was always impending over great pilgrimages

Ritual accompanies pilgrimage from the outset. According to Vācaspati Miśra (TC 9) after two days of preparations including tonsure and fasting one should, obviously on a full- or new moon day, worship Gaṇeśa, the planets and one's *iṣṭadevatā*, perform a *śrāddha* with ghee, honour three brahmans and give them gold and other things. Then one should pledge a vōw (*saṃkalpa*) to make the pilgrimage: *Oṃ adya pratipadam aśvamedhayajñājanyaphalasamaphalaprapṛāptikāmo 'mukatīrthayātrām ahaṃ kariṣye*/ « Oṃ, today on full/new moon day, desirous to obtain a result equal to the result produced by the *aśvamedha* sacrifice, I shall begin the pilgrimage to this or that place ». One should don the pilgrim's garments, make a *pradakṣiṇa* of one's village, go to a village within the distance of a *krośa* and there break one's fast with ghee. Early next morning the pilgrim should start to the holy place, again after some ritual.

Among the authors of the *dharmanibandhas* there is some discussion with regard to the use of vehicles and shoes. In general walking is more meritorious than driving and going barefoot more so than using shoes. All authorities agree that on the way to Prayāga only invalids should travel by vehicle. The element of *tapas* is strong in Hindu pilgrimage.

During the pilgrimage the three *sandhyā* rites are combined into one, to be performed at dawn. Mitramiśra (TP 42) tells us that if a pilgrim returns without having realised his object he has to make a *prāyaścitta* after having got permission from pure brahmans.

Parallel with all these prescriptions of a ritual character, from the *Mahābhārata* onwards we find passages arguing that pilgrimage will be of no avail if one is not inwardly pure: if the Ganges automatically would release the one who is immersed in her waters, all the fishes in that river would be released. There are however also tales which tend to show that a person who performs a pilgrimage willy-nilly reaps the full fruit³³.

Having given an outline of Hindu pilgrimage in its traditional form and returning to the subject of its origin, we will consider in how far we can find any root of the practice in the *Vedas*.

32. 1872, vol. I, chapt. 3; reproduced in a slightly abridged form IGI 10.437-458 s.v. Orissa and 11.310-320 s.v. Puri.

33. E.g. *SkandaPur.* 3.3.3, esp. vss. 130f.; cp. VALLAURI 1934. 306f. and ENSINK 1969.22ff.

As is well known the rivers or the waters enjoy great veneration in the *Vedas*. Hymn 10.75 of the *Rgveda* is addressed to the rivers; it mentions the Ganges and the Yamunā and a great many streams of the Punjab by name, and some more are mentioned in other hymns. The Sarasvatī however is by far the most worshipped. The rivers are gratefully looked upon as pre-eminently life-giving forces and one of the most important reasons for the worship of the mountains is their being the origin of the waters.

The water required for the pressing of the *soma* is fetched from the river by the *adhvaryu* and the ablution at the end of the sacrifice (*avabhṛtha*) is made in the river. In the tenth book of the *Rgvedasamhitā*, which is generally considered of a later date, the waters are sometimes said to purify from sin:

« O waters, carry off everything that is sinful in me, the wrong I have done, or the false oath I have sworn. Today I have gone into the waters, I have met the fluid »: (10. 9. 8f.)

« The waters, the mothers, may make us clean. Clarified like ghee, may they clarify us with ghee. For the goddesses carry off all dirt. Pure, purified, I come out of them »: (10. 17. 10)

In the paralipomena (*khila*) of the *Rgveda* there occurs³⁴ one verse which is generally thought to refer to the junction of Yamunā and Ganges, the practice of bathing and even of giving up one's life there:

*sitāsīte sarīte yātra saṃgatē
tātrāplutāso divam ūt patanti /
yé vai tanūam vi sṛjanti dhīrās
te jánāso amṛtatvām bhajante / /*

« Those who plunge into the water where the white and the black river meet ascend to heaven. Those wise people who give up their lives there obtain immortality ».

The difference in colour of the light grey Ganges and the deep blue Yamunā has struck observers through the ages and the term *sitāsita* is used for their confluence³⁵. The custom of suicide at Prayāga is recorded by both Hsüan tsang (1.232) and Al Bīrūnī (2.170f.).

In Vedic religion however, a sacred place is primarily a place that is auspicious for the performance of sacrifices. Thus in the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*³⁶ the gods are said to have made sacrifices in Kurukṣetra. Similar traditions have been connected later with other places of pilgrimage. Kanakhala, Prayāga, Benares and Gayā are so many places where according to tradition one of the gods has performed great Vedic sacrifices.

34. SCHEFTELOWITZ 1906.171.nr. 5. This verse is considered a supplement (after vs. 5) to R.V. 10.75.

35. VĀCASPATI MIŚRA TC 25.6 and 26.9.

36. 4.1.5.13. My attention was drawn to this passage by Mr.E.W. Tiemersma, who at present is making a study of Kurukṣetra.

But the most striking case of sacrifices being topographically determined in the *Veda* we find in the *yātsattras* (itinerant sacrificial sessions)³⁷. These rituals may only be performed on the banks of either the Sarasvatī (*Sārasvatasattra*) or the Drṣadvatī (*Dārṣadvatasattra*) and every day a new sacrificial place is laid out some distance upstream from the former one. The *śrautasūtras* only describe the *Sārasvatasattra* in full detail. The ritual begins at Vinaśana, the point where the Sarasvatī disappears in the sands of the Indian Desert. Here the *dīkṣā* and all the preliminary acts are performed. At the beginning a hundred cows are let loose together with one bull, in the hope that the herd may multiply to the number of one thousand. Every morning the *adhvaryu* takes his stand to the south-east of the *āhavanīya* fire in the *uttaravedi* of yesterday's sacrificial place and from there throws the *śamyā*, a stick about 90 centimetres in length, as far upstream as possible. If it falls down on even ground, it marks the place of the *gārhapatya* fire of the new sacrificial place. Should it fall on uneven ground, the *adhvaryu* has to throw again from that point. With a view to the daily removal a number of constructions in the sacrificial places are fitted out with wheels: the shed (*sadas*), the shed for the somacarts (*havirdhāna*), the hut for the sacrificer's wife (*patnīśālā*) and the cooking fire (*śāmitra*). The sacrificial post is dragged along to its new place. In their progress along the Sarasvatī the *sattrins* come to the place where the Drṣadvatī meets the Sarasvatī, a place not called *saṃgama* here, but *apyaya*. Most texts here prescribe the offering to Apām Napāt of an oblation (*caru*), as is usual to this god; the commentator Sāyaṇa adds: 'to remove the guilt of crossing the water'³⁸; and the teachers are divided over the question whether the offering should or should not be made when there is no water in the Drṣadvatī. *Sāṅkhāyanaśrautasūtra* immediately after prescribing the oblation says *Sarasvatīm apiyanti*. Should we translate: 'They enter the Sarasvatī', and understand that they take a bath at the confluence? Or does it mean: 'They tread (the path of) the Sarasvatī', as a synonym of *Sarasvatyā yanti*, 'They proceed along the Sarasvatī', in the *Jaiminīyabrāhmaṇa*³⁹?

The procession naturally comes to an end at the source of the Sarasvatī, in a place called Plakṣa Prasrāvaṇa. The sacrificial bath (*avabhṛtha*) is then taken in the district Kārapacava in the Yamunā. However the *sattra* may be ended for other reasons t.w. (1) the herd reaching the number of a thousand cows, (2) the loss of the herd, (3) the death of the sacrificer.

The result of the duly completed *Sārasvattasattra* is the attainment of heaven. The *Jaiminīyabrāhmaṇa* says:

37. HILLEBRANDT 1897. § 81. On the *Sārasvatasattras* OHMANN 1971.

38. Ad TMB 25.10.15.

39. 2.297-299, ed. Caland 200.

« They proceed along the Sarasvatī. Sarasvatī is the Word. The Word is the way of the gods. So they proceed by the way of the gods. They go upstream. Heaven, one might say, is upstream. So they come into heaven. They go to the northeast. Heaven is in the northeast. So they mount to heaven. They go as far as Prakṣa (sic!) Prasarāvaṇa. Prakṣa Prasarāvaṇa is the completion of the Word. That is heaven. So they go to heaven ».

One wonders if it has ever been possible to carry out this ritual completely. We may suppose that it took several years, though most quantities in the calculation — the length of the Sarasvatī in Vedic times, the average length of the *śamyā*-throw, the frequency of coming upon uneven ground — are uncertain. Anyhow this *sattra* is not only known from the *brāhmaṇas* and the *śrautasūtras*, the *Mahābhārata*⁴⁰ too refers to it and also tells us that king Sahadeva⁴¹ sacrificed 'by *śamyā*-throw (*śamyākṣepeṇa*)' and kindled a hundred times a hundred thousand sacrificial fires along the Yamunā, giving each time a hundred thousand in *dakṣiṇās*.

The *Sārasvatasattra* has only a remote similarity to pilgrimage as we find it in Hinduism. On the one hand, like pilgrimage, it has a well defined result for the sacrificer, but so has any Vedic sacrifice and the way in which the result is accounted for is typical of the *brāhmaṇas* as different from the *māhātmyas* of holy sites. Apart from the doubtful phrase *Sarasvatīm apiyanti* in one text, there is no indication of a bath in the holy river Sarasvatī. The so called sacrificial bath (*avabhṛtha*) — which is taken in the Yamunā — has a desacralizing function. Nor is there any evidence of a notion that the confluence of rivers is particularly sacred.

It seems that in the *Veda* there is no element forming an essential root of Hindu pilgrimage. Though Vedic religion has its holy places, especially its holy rivers, these do not appear to be the goal of the travels of pilgrims. The passages which refer to the waters as purifying from sin are few and late; the word *tīrthā* is not used here in the sense of 'bathing-place purifying from sin'; the word *tīrtha-yātrā*, 'travel to holy places'⁴²,

40. 3.88. 2sq. *Sarasvatī puṇyavahā hradinī vanamālīnī / samudragā mahāvegā Yamunā yatra Pāṇḍava // tatra puṇyatamaṃ tīrthaṃ Plakṣāvatarāṇaṃ śivam / yatra Sārasvatāir iṣṭvā gacchanty avabhṛthaṃ dvijāḥ* // Obviously by *Sārasvatāir* the *Sārasvatasattra* is meant and by *dvijāḥ* the brahmins taking part in it. At the end of 3.80, after the pilgrim has followed the Sarasvatī upstream, we read (vs. 133): *ṛṣiṇāṃ yatra sattrāṇi samāptāni narādhipa / Sattrāvasānam āsāya gosahasraphalaṃ labhet* // To my mind *sattrāṇi* refers to the *Sārasvatasattra* and *Sattrāvasānam* to *Plakṣa Prasarāvaṇa*. Cp. also 3.13.13 *apakṛṣṭottarāsaṅgaḥ kṛśo dhamanisaṃtataḥ / āsīḥ Kṛṣṇa Sarasvatyāṇi sattre dvādaśavārṣike* //

41. 3.88.4 and 6. According to Nilakaṇṭha this is Sahadeva, the son of Śrījaya, mentioned in *Rāmāyaṇa*, Baroda ed. 1.46.15 ab as a scion of the Solar Race and king of Viśālā. Cp. SÖRENSEN 1904.606b, s.v. Sahadeva⁴.

42. OInd. *pravrajyā*, Pāli *pabbajjā* means 'leaving the world to adopt the life of an ascetic'. It is not used for 'pilgrimage', as TURNER (1973.204) supposes.

is not found. There is only one certain reference to the very salutary effect of the confluence of the Yamunā and the Ganges. And the belief in it obviously is a foreign element in Vedic religion.

It does not seem a hardy supposition that the absence of pilgrimage is connected with the fact that the society in which Vedic religion took shape was probably in a transition from nomadism to sedentary life. Turner (1973. 195), speaking of pilgrimage with 'large numbers of people coming at set times and considerable distances', says that '... the optimal conditions for flourishing pilgrimage systems of this type are societies based mainly on agriculture, but with a fairly advanced degree of division of craft labor, with patrimonial or feudal political regimes, with a well-marked urban-rural division but with, at the most, only a limited development of modern industry'.

The *dharmaśāstras* obviously know more about pilgrimage than the *Vedas* did. Yājñavalkya (1. 257-260) teaches for how long different kinds of food will do when offered to the ancestors, e.g. the food for oblations, i.e. rice and other grains, will last them a month, milk-rice a year, and so on. In this connection he says:

« The flesh of the rhinoceros, the mahasher, honey, the food of hermits (*muni*), the flesh of the red goat, the best vegetable, the flesh of an old white goat, whatever one sacrifices in Gayā, all these offerings last the ancestors forever as well as those made on the thirteenth day of the rains, especially when the moon is in Maghā ⁴³ ».

We see that the special effect of the sacrifices in Gayā is acknowledged, but is not exalted far above all other forms of sacrifice to the ancestors, as is done by later texts. As Gayā in Yājñavalkya's time was in the margin of the *ārya* country and his book is meant for *āryas*, his reference must imply a pilgrimage of some length.

It is also interesting that Manu (3.266-273) deals with these questions of the different kinds of offerings to the ancestors in much the same way, but does not mention Gayā. Manu knows about pilgrimage, but obviously does not appreciate it. In the only case in which he refers to it he does so a disparaging way:

« If you are in harmony with that divine Yama, the son of Vivasvat, who dwells in your heart, then do not go to the Ganges, nor to Kurukṣetra ». (8. 92)

This strain is common in the *Mahābhārata* ⁴⁴ and later texts ⁴⁵. Says Anantabhaṭṭa: 'The holy place is of two kinds, inner (*mānasa*) and outer (*bāhya*)' ⁴⁶. But then these writers make it abundantly clear that they also

43. Cp. KANE 1930-1962.4.360.

44. E.g. 13.111.

45. E.g. MBH. Crit. Ed. 13 App. 19, quoted by LAKṢMĪDHARA TVK 6-8; MITRAMIŚRA TP pp. 8-10.

46. See note 12.

attach much value to the outer holy place. In Manu however this is the only reference to holy places and so his slighting words have more weight.

Of the *dharmaśāstras* only the *Viṣṇusmṛti* includes a full chapter on pilgrimage with an enumeration of fifty-two holy sites and rivers. Most of these belong to North India, but there are also a few from the Dekkhan, none of them however further south than the basin of the Kṛṣṇā river. According to Jolly (1896-7), who edited⁴⁷ and translated (1900) the *Viṣṇusmṛti*, this passage is a late addition and his opinion has been generally accepted.

It seems evident that the *dharmaśāstras* in general represent a stage in the development of Vedic-brahmanic religion when pilgrimage was known, but not yet fully accepted as an orthodox practice. Only in the *Mahābhārata*, and then in parts of that epic which no doubt are late, that is to say from the first centuries of the Christian era, do we see that pilgrimage has been completely adapted by brahman tradition. There are three long passages devoted to the visiting of holy places: the narrative of Arjuna's pilgrimage in the *Ādiparvan* (207-210), the *Tīrthayātrāparvan* in the *Āraṇyakaparvan* (80-153) and another *Tīrthayātrāparvan* in the *Salyaparvan* (29-53), this last passage describing Balarāma's pilgrimage to the holy places on the Sarasvatī, to begin with Prabhāsa, which is considered its mouth. Of these the *Āraṇyakaparvan* section is the most important. It contains a long discourse of the sage Pulastya to answer Bhīṣma's question what result will be reaped by the man who makes a clockwise circumambulation (*pradakṣiṇa*) of the world⁴⁸. After some general introductory remarks, from which we have quoted a few verses⁴⁹, he gives in fact a pilgrim's itinerary, which spans the whole subcontinent. I shall only mention a few places from his itinerary to give a general idea of the route. The pilgrim is supposed first to visit Puṣkara and to go from there via Ujjain⁵⁰ to the Narmadā. From there he has to turn to the northwest to Mount Abu⁵¹ and again southward to Prabhāsa. Here the *pradakṣiṇa* actually begins. He should visit the Indus⁵², the Pañjab⁵³ and the disappearance (*Vinaśana*) of the Sarasvatī and reach Kurukṣetra. A full *adhyāya* (3. 81) is devoted to the *māhātmya* of Kurukṣetra, indeed the most important holy place in the *Mahābhārata*. On his eastward way the pilgrim is to proceed as far as the Karatoyā river in present-day Bangla Desh. Then, after having visited the mouth of the Ganges, he should continue southward, bathe in the Kāverī and in the sea at Kanyātīrtha, of

47. See Abbreviations under *Viṣṇusmṛti*.

48. 3.80.10 and 28. Bhardwaj (1973, chapt. 3) has demonstrated this from the itinerary.

49. See p. 58 f.

50. Mahākāla (3.80.68) is the chief sanctuary of Ujjayinī.

51. Skt. *Arbuda* (3.80.74).

52. Skt. *Sindhūtama* (3.80.95).

53. Skt. *Pañcanada* (3.80.99).

which we have made passing mention already under the name of Kanniyakumari. On his way back he should follow the west coast as far as Gokarn and, after having visited several holy places in the Dekkhan, complete his long pilgrimage by bathing at Prayāga.

I have already given examples of how Pulastya with regard to each place expresses the merit reaped by the pilgrim in terms of Vedic sacrifices. The itinerary is interesting in that it shows that by that time (1) pilgrimage had been brought into harmony with the Vedic-brahmanic tradition and (2) the whole of India had come within the view of the authors of passages like this, who no doubt were brahmans.

It is hardly open to doubt that these sacred places were not originally brahman institutions, but that they must have been held sacred already by other communities before the brahmans took them under their aegis. It seems that the cult of holy sites was of old widely spread in India, but the area where Vedic-brahmanic tradition first came into contact with the practice must have been the Yamunā-Ganges basin. Here lie the places of pilgrimage we first find mentioned: the Ganges, Kurukṣetra, Gayā. (It is worthy of remark that Benares gets little attention in the oldest accounts). Here also the cult of the *saṃgama*, which was to occupy a central place in Hindu pilgrimage, may have existed of old. It is not more than a supposition that the junction of the two greatest rivers must for a long time past have been an object of the worship of the population of the area, but then it is a supposition that lies close at hand.

There may be an indication that even Kurukṣetra, which to the brahman tradition is the ideal *ārya* country, was also, and probably at an early stage, a place held sacred by a non-*ārya* people.

In an interesting study on *yakṣas* Coomaraswamy (1928-1931. 1. 36) has come to the conclusion that '... *Yakṣas* are indigenous non-Aryan deities or genii'. For this thesis he has adduced a mass of evidence, especially from Buddhist and Jaina literature. Coomaraswamy has also shown that *yakṣas* often function as tutelary deities (1. 14-16) and that their cult is connected with a 'cosmology of the Four or Eight Quarters of the Universe'. (1. 36) Now the eighty-first *adhyāya* of the *Āraṇyaka-parvan*, which is devoted to Kurukṣetra, concludes with a verse⁵⁴ which states that Kurukṣetra-Samantapañcaka, i.e. the central part of Kurukṣetra, lies in between Tarantuka, Arantuka, Rāmahrada and Macakruka. All those four sacred centres have been mentioned in the preceding verses of the *adhyāya*, Tarantuka (vs. 13), Arantuka (vs. 42) and Macakruka (vs. 7) as doorkeepers (*dvārapāla*), Arantuka and Macakruka moreover explicitly as *yakṣas*. Rāmahrada indicates those pools that were originally formed by the blood of the *kṣatriyas* who had been slaughtered by Rāma Jāmadagnya. It does not fit in with the three *yakṣas* functioning as door-

54. 3.81.178 = 9.52.20, quoted by *Lakṣmīdhara* TVK 179 and MITRA MIŚRA TP 464. Cp. CUNNINGHAM in ASIR 2.215 f.

keepers, but according to the pilgrim's itinerary (vs. 18-22) it must be close to a banyan tree called Muñjavaṭa. Great trees are often thought of as habitations of *yakṣas*, and here, it is said, dwells a world-famous *yakṣa* female (*yakṣī lokapāriśrutā*) and the place is widely known as a gate of Kurukṣetra.

Thus four *yakṣas* keep watch over Kurukṣetra. The problem of their location cannot be settled fully here. Later tradition is certain that they must be placed in the intermediate quarters, but undecided over the question in which quarter each of the four had his dwelling⁵⁵. It is remarkable that each of their names has given rise to a series of *variae lectiones*; these may have been non-*ārya* names, which presented difficulties to *ārya* reciters. It does not seem improbable that here too we are on the track of a non-*ārya* cult of a holy site dating back to a time when the brahman had not yet appeared upon the scene.

To summarize my conclusion I would say that, to my mind, Hindu pilgrimage essentially continues practices of non-*ārya* sedentary peoples of India, in the first place the non-*ārya* population of the Yamunā-Ganges basin. These practices were incorporated in brahmanic tradition with the only major modification that they were in various ways connected and compared with Vedic sacrifices.

55. MITRA MIŚRA TP 464f. Cp. KANE 1930-1962.4.683, note 1551.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Al-Bīrūnī = *Alberuni's India*. An account of the religion, philosophy, literature, geography, chronology, astronomy, customs, laws and astrology of India about A.D. 1030. [English translation] Ed., with notes and indices, by Edward C. Sachau. Popular Edition, London 1914.
- ASIR = *Archaeological Survey of India. Report*. Reprint. Indological Book House, Varanasi, Delhi 1972.
- GayāM. = Jacques 1962.
- Hsüan tsang = *Si-Yu-Ki*. Buddhist Records of the Western World. Translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang (A.D. 629) by Samuel Beal. Popular Edition London. Trübner's Oriental Series. Reprint New York 1968.
- IGI = WILLIAM WILSON HUNTER. *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*. Second edition. London 1885-1887. 14 vols.
- JB = *Das Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa* in Auswahl. Text, Übersetzung, Indices von W. CALAND. Amsterdam 1919. Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Academie van Wetenschappen, afdeling Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks Deel XIX, No. 4.
- Manu = *The Manusmṛti, with the commentary Manvarthamuktāvalī of Kullūka*, ed., with critical & explanatory notes etc., by Nārāyaṇ Rām Āchārya. Tenth edition, Bombay 1946.
- Mbh. Crit. Ed. = *The Mahābhārata* for the first time critically edited by V. S. SUKTHANKAR and S. K. BELVALKAR. Poona 1933-1966.
- OInd. = Old Indian.
- PW = *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*, bearbeitet von OTTO BÖHTLINGK und RUDOLPH ROTH. St. Petersburg 1855-1875. 7 Voll. Neudruck Osnabrück, Wiesbaden 1966.
- RV = *The Hymns of the Rig-Veda in the Saṃhitā and Pada Text*, ed. by F. MAX MÜLLER. London, Strassburg 1877, 2 vols. Reprint. Varanasi 1965. The Kashi Sanskrit Series 167, 3rd edition.
- Satapathabrāhmaṇa = *Mādhyaṇdinaśākhīya-Satapathabrāhmaṇa*, ed. C. CAUDHARĪ and V. MĪŚRA. Kāśī, Saṃ. 1994-1997. 2 vols.
- SkandaPur. = *Skānda-purāṇam*, Kṣemarājaṇa saṭikaṃ prakāśitam. Śrī-Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay 1908-1909. 7 vols.

Skt. = Sanskrit.

TC = VĀCASPATI MIŚRA. *Tīrthacintāmaṇi*. Ed. by Kamalakrishna Smrititirtha. Calcutta 1910. Bibliotheca Indica.

TMB = *Tāṇḍya-Mahābrāhmaṇa with the commentary of Sāyaṇācārya*, ed. by ĀNANDACANDRA VEDĀNTAVĀGĪŚA. Calcutta 1874. Bibliotheca Indica.

TP = MITRA MIŚRA, *Tīrthaparakāśa*, ed. by VISHNU PRASĀD. *Vīramitrodaya*, Vol. X. Benares 1917. Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series no. 239.

TVK = LAKṢMĪDHARA. *Kṛtyakalpataru*. 8amo bhāgaḥ. *Tīrthavivecanakāṇḍa*. Baroda 1942. Gaekwad's Oriental Series no. XCVIII.

Viṣṇusmṛti = *Viṣṇusmṛti*, together with extracts from the Sanskrit Commentary of Nanda Paṇḍit called *Vaijayanti*. Ed. with critical notes, an anukramaṇika and indexes of words and mantras by JULIUS JOLLY. Varanasi 1962. Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series No. 95.

Yājñavalkya = *Yājñavalkya's Gesetzbuch*. Sanskrit und Deutsch. Herausgegeben von ADOLF FRIEDRICH STENZLER. Berlin 1849. Neudruck Osnabrück 1970.

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